

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

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ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH MEETING
held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 13 July 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN
OCT 6 1967
DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI

(India)

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A.F. AZEREDO da SILVEIRA
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES
Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV
Mr. T. DAMIANOV
Mr. D. KOSTOV

Burma:

U KYAW MIN

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
Mr. C.J. MARSHALL
Mr. J.R. MORDEN

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. V. VAJNAR
Mr. J. STRUCKA

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI
Mr. E. FRANCO

Mexico:

Mr. J. CASTANEDA
Miss E. AGUIRRE

Nigeria:

Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. J. GOLDBLAT
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. O. IONESCO
Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Mr. A. COROIANU

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM
Mr. R. BOMAN
Mr. U. ERICSSON

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. V.P. SUSLOV
Mr. B.A. SEMENOV
Mr. Y.K. NAZARKIN

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALAF
Mr. A. OSMAN
Mr. A.A. SALAM
M.M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Sir Harold BEELEY
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER
Mr. G. BUNN
Mr. C.G. BREAM
Mr. C. GLEYSTEN

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (india): I declare open the three hundred and thirteenth plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.
2. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Soviet delegation has asked for the floor in order to make some observations in connexion with the exchange of views which has taken place in recent weeks in our Committee on the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and on some other questions which have been touched upon in the course of the debate.
3. In fact, all the delegations that have spoken in the Eighteen-Nation Committee have expressed themselves in favour of concluding an effective international treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The work which we are carrying on in the Committee and the exchange of views which is taking place both in the official meetings of our Conference and outside it are a positive contribution to the accomplishment of this important task entrusted to us by the United Nations General Assembly.
4. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Alexei Nikolaevich Kosygin, speaking at a press conference in New York on 25 June, stated with regard to the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons:

 "...we consider that in this direction there has been a great change for the better, and...we are continuing to work in order to carry the solution of this problem through to the end."
5. During the current session we have heard a number of interesting statements on the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The discussion taking place in the Committee gives a definite idea of the points of view of the delegations and contributes to the achievement of agreements acceptable to all parties. We should like to observe in this connexion that the Soviet side gives due attention to the idea that, when the provisions of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons are being worked out, the considerations put forward by the representatives of the various countries should be taken into account.
6. The present state of the exchange of views makes it possible to note the obvious fact that the countries participating in the work of the Committee have declared their resolve to support the main principle which should constitute the fundamental content of a non-proliferation treaty: namely the principle that the treaty must provide for effective obligations under international law which reliably close any ways to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Whatever the nuances and shades of

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meaning in the positions of the various delegations that have spoken during the past debates, all agree that a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in accordance with resolution 2028 (XX) should be void of any loopholes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear Powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form (ENDC/161).

7. The representative of Mexico, Mr. Castañeda, speaking in favour of an effective non-proliferation treaty, declared at our meeting of 13 June:

"It is acknowledged that one of the greatest dangers to peace -- even greater perhaps than a direct confrontation between the big nuclear Powers -- would be that other smaller countries, if they came to have nuclear potential, however small, would be able to undertake an action which very soon would inevitably involve the great Powers and unleash a general atomic war." (ENDC/PV.304, para.7)

8. In the exchange of views which is taking place in the Committee on the subject of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a great place is given to the question of what influence this treaty might have on the peaceful development of nuclear energy. This question was dealt with, in particular, by the representative of India, Mr. Trivedi, at the 298th meeting and by the representative of Brazil, Mr. Azeredo da Silveira, at the 310th meeting, as well as by the representatives of some other countries taking part in the work of the Committee. In some of those statements the opinion was expressed that a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons might to some extent prevent non-nuclear countries from using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

9. The Soviet delegation has already set forth its point of view on this question. We note with satisfaction that many delegations have expressed their agreement with the argument adduced by us at the meeting of 18 May to the effect that the solution of the non-proliferation problem is one of the most important conditions that would ensure for the non-nuclear countries the most rapid and successful development of their peaceful atomic industry (ENDC/PV.297, para. 15).

10. Thus at our meeting of 23 May the representative of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Winkler, stated the following:

"The treaty would not limit the peaceful uses of nuclear energy in any way. It would not be a strait-jacket for them. No activity in the field of peaceful research, or in industrial and commercial uses of nuclear energy

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on a national or international scale, would be affected in any way by the non-proliferation treaty. On the contrary, we think that the treaty would open new avenues to broad international co-operation in the field of peaceful uses". (ENDC/PV.298, para. 58)

Statements in the same sense have been made at our meetings by the representatives of Poland, Bulgaria, Mexico, Sweden and some other countries.

11. It is quite obvious that the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would enable non-nuclear countries to concentrate all their scientific, technical and material resources on the peaceful utilization of the achievements of nuclear physics and would create the most favourable conditions for the development of broad international co-operation in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

12. During the debate the representatives of a number of non-aligned countries also raised the question of how to reconcile the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons with the use of nuclear explosions by non-nuclear countries for peaceful purposes. We think that the solution of this question should be based on the principle that, on the one hand, the non-proliferation treaty should not deprive non-nuclear countries of the possibilities that are connected with nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes; on the other hand, the concrete solution of this question should not nullify the main objective of the treaty -- the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that any device for carrying out nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes in no way differs in principle from devices having military importance. This fact is beyond dispute.

13. Therefore, if we wish to have a really effective treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, one which would leave no loopholes or chinks for States that wished to get hold of nuclear weapons, it is indispensable that this treaty should also cover the non-proliferation of any nuclear explosive devices. Obviously, in doing so, it should not infringe upon the interests of States which would wish in the future to use nuclear explosive devices in order to carry out some particular project in the field of economic development. We consider that this problem, including the procedure and conditions for carrying out nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, could be settled on the basis of a separate international agreement. Thus the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes should not be an obstacle to the achievement of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

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14. The statements of the representatives of non-aligned countries -- particularly those of the representatives of India, Brazil and Sweden -- touched upon the consideration that the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should contain an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of both the nuclear and the non-nuclear States (FNDC/178). We fully understand that point of view.

15. The Soviet Union, as is known, has always advocated, and continues to advocate, effective nuclear disarmament. Guided by our position of principle, we regard the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as a first step towards the cessation of the nuclear arms race, towards the elimination of nuclear weapons. In our opinion the conclusion of such a treaty, by bringing about a higher degree of confidence in relations between States, would open up more favourable possibilities for achieving agreement on other disarmament questions and in the first place on questions of nuclear disarmament.

16. For the Soviet Union there is no question of whether or not to accept provisions obliging the nuclear Powers to act in the direction of nuclear disarmament. We consider that the draft treaty on non-proliferation should contain provisions testifying to the willingness of the parties to it to endeavour to solve the problems of disarmament and, above all, the problem of nuclear disarmament. In our opinion the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should provide a clear perspective in regard to the problem of disarmament as a whole, by confirming the will of all the parties to the treaty to strive for the exclusion of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles from the arsenals of States.

17. One of the most important steps towards nuclear disarmament would be the discontinuation by the nuclear Powers of all tests of nuclear weapons, including underground nuclear explosions. This question was touched upon in the statements made by some representatives in the Committee. We have considered attentively the well-thought-out statement, based on modern scientific data, which was made on this question at the 309th meeting of the Committee by the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal. In her statement Mrs. Myrdal put forward some considerations concerning the practical possibilities of solving this important problem.

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18. The conclusion drawn by Mrs. Myrdal in regard to ways of putting an end to underground tests of nuclear weapons is of great importance for the solution of this problem. We should like to draw particular attention to the passage in the statement of the representative of Sweden in which she declared that -

"...the whole concept of control in relation to a ban on underground nuclear explosions has to be looked at anew; to our mind, the control issue can no longer be used as a convenient reason for holding up an agreement in this field." (ENDC/PV.309, para. 25)

In her statement the representative of Sweden stressed the idea that with the contemporary level of development of science and technology the means of control existing in many countries are adequate for keeping an effective check on the fulfilment of an agreement to ban underground nuclear tests.

19. The representative of Sweden put a direct question to the nuclear Powers asking if their Governments were really ready to stop nuclear weapon testing (ibid., para.26). As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, as we have already stated on more than one occasion, the Soviet side is prepared to agree without delay to the prohibition of all underground tests of nuclear weapons, using national means of detection for control over this prohibition.

20. In our statement we have been able to set forth some of our considerations only in regard to a few questions and views that have been put forward here in the Committee recently. In doing so we should like to emphasize that the Soviet side will endeavour to ensure that the fullest use is made of all constructive ideas and considerations put forward in our Conference and aimed at solving the problems set before us and particularly at solving the problem of nuclear disarmament. We express the hope that the exchange of views in the Committee during the current session on disarmament questions will prove fruitful for the accomplishment of the important aim set before us.

21. In limiting our statement today to the exposition of a few considerations connected with the discussion taking place in the Committee, the Soviet delegation intends to make a detailed statement on the problem of non-proliferation as a whole at the appropriate time.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 313th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the Chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador V.C. Trivedi, representative of India.

"A statement was made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 18 July 1967, at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 11 a.m.

